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President	Ms. Herfkens	(Netherlands)
Members	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Mr. Ward
	Malaysia	Mr. Mohammad Kamal
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Ms. Soderberg

Agenda

The situation in Guinea-Bissau.

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The meeting was resumed at 3.10 p.m.

The President: Before I give the floor to the next speaker, I would like to say that I would not mind our having a more interactive debate. Members may wish to come back to something that someone else has said. There will be a second round, but if members feel that it would be useful to intervene earlier, and tell me so, I will give them the floor.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) *(spoke in Chinese)*: Madam President, I would like to begin by welcoming you to New York, as you preside over this meeting. We appreciate the efforts made by the delegation of the Netherlands in organizing this meeting. We also welcome the presence of the Vice-Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Guinea-Bissau and of the Executive Director of the World Bank. I would like to thank them both for their presentations.

With the end of last week's turmoil, the situation in Guinea-Bissau has moved towards tranquillity. This short episode clearly shows that there is still a long way to go before peace can be consolidated in Guinea-Bissau. The international community should remain involved in the affairs of that nation, provide it with support and help it achieve peace, stability and development.

We support the popularly elected Government of Guinea-Bissau and call upon the members of the former military junta to respect the choice of the people and cease interfering in the political process. We reiterate the importance and urgency of carrying out the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration in a timely and comprehensive manner. We also urge the parties concerned in Guinea-Bissau to actively participate in the process.

Guinea-Bissau faces a formidable task of rebuilding in all areas and needs the international community's urgent assistance. This morning the representative of the World Bank described to us the work done by the relevant agencies to help Guinea-Bissau overcome its difficulties and start reconstruction at an early date. We appreciate these efforts. We hope that the international community will continue its efforts in this area and that the donors' round table to be held in Geneva next February will achieve substantial results. We believe that in assisting post-conflict peace-building in Guinea-Bissau, the United Nations system and related agencies should, in accordance with their own mandates, strengthen mutual cooperation and coordination so that the efforts undertaken of the international community in Guinea-Bissau achieve effective results.

In conclusion, I wish to take this opportunity to thank the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS) for its successful efforts. We support the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sinkam, and his team. We hope that the Office will play its due role in coordinating post-conflict peace-building work in Guinea-Bissau so as to make further contributions to the cause of peace and development in that country.

The President: I thank the Ambassador of China for his very constructive and positive statement.

Mr. Jerandi (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): Allow me, Madam President, to thank you for the commendable initiatives your delegation has taken in order to enable the Council to deal with this important question. I would also like to thank the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau and the representative of the World Bank for their very important statements.

Despite the return to calm, the situation in Guinea-Bissau continues to require the ongoing mobilization of the international community in support of that country. The failed attempt by General Mane to regain control of the army by force is a stark reminder that the peace-building process in the country is still fragile and that there can be lasting stability only if the military junta recognizes the authority of the democratically elected civilian power, particularly of President Yalá, and withdraws completely from the political scene.

Nevertheless, the attitude displayed by the young servicemen during this crisis offers a glimmer of hope, being a sign of the emergence of a new generation that respects the rule of law and the primacy of constitutional institutions. The political dialogue which has been started between the two parties in power, the efforts made by the Assembly of Guinea-Bissau to reconcile differences between the Government and the army, as well as the organization of municipal elections, which we hope will take place as planned before the end of the year, can only strengthen trust among the people of Guinea-Bissau, and deserve our encouragement and strong support.

My delegation also believes that the strengthening of the police force and the speeding up

of the process of demobilization and reintegration of former combatants will definitely make it possible to further consolidate a climate of peace and security in Guinea-Bissau, provided, of course, that the necessary resources are mobilized in time.

We would also strongly encourage the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS), whose role is very valuable, to intensify their efforts and to bring together all the political factions in a spirit of reconciliation and cooperation.

The current crisis in Guinea-Bissau prompts the international community to redouble its efforts to help the Government to establish real civilian authority in the country, as well as democratic institutions. This process clearly must go hand in hand with economic recovery and reconstruction of the country. However, this difficult but very necessary task can be completed only if the international community continues to support and assist Guinea-Bissau, whose growing needs are becoming ever more urgent. The extreme poverty in the country, the precariousness of its economic situation and the inability of the Government, because of lack of resources, to meet the most elementary needs of the population are all factors highly conducive to political instability and social unrest.

We cannot hope to establish real, lasting peace and stability if the economic situation remains precarious, if the unemployment and underemployment rate remains as high as it is and if the public sector bills are not paid on time.

The international community must match its commitment to Guinea-Bissau with specific measures to ease poverty and relieve its external debt. Hence the need for urgent action to prevent the country from sliding into another crisis whose consequences would be disastrous for the country and for the people of Guinea-Bissau, who have suffered too much already, particularly since experience has shown us that preventive action is much more productive and costs less.

Aware of all these security, economic and social priorities, Tunisia, which has always advocated the eradication of poverty as a factor of stability, strongly supports the appeal of the Secretary-General for the international community, as well as the world's financial institutions, to assist the Government of Guinea-Bissau in its efforts and to provide urgent financial and economic assistance before the round table to be held in February.

The President: I thank the representative of Tunisia for his encouraging statement.

Mr. Ward (Jamaica): Madam President, my delegation is pleased to see you presiding over the Council, and we thank your delegation for scheduling this meeting.

We are also pleased that the Government of Guinea-Bissau has taken full advantage of the opportunity presented by this open meeting of the Security Council. Vice-Prime Minister Faustino Fudut Imbali has set out for us the programme priorities of his Government. This morning the Secretary-General opened our discussion by emphasizing the importance of this meeting.

We also welcome the statement of Mr. Callisto Madavo, Vice-President of the World Bank, who informed us of the role of the international financial institutions in the post-conflict peace-building process under way in Guinea-Bissau.

When my delegation first proposed that the Council convene an open briefing on the situation in Guinea-Bissau it was for the simple purpose of focussing attention on the Government's post-conflict priorities and of garnering support for its efforts to provide the necessary financial and material resources to give effect to those priorities.

My delegation believes that the international community must appreciate that the commitment to peace does not end with the cessation of hostilities in a conflict. Rather, the true measure of long-term peace involves the building of democratic, social and economic institutions and practices in order to consolidate and maintain peace. It involves national efforts for reconciliation, tolerance and the peaceful management of differences. These efforts need the involvement of civil society to overcome the suspicion and animosity built up during the period of conflict.

The events of the past week demonstrate just how tenuous the hold on elected office can be if there are divisive elements in the society seeking to thwart the restoration of full democracy. These events also demonstrate, vividly, the urgency of the consolidation of the Government's peace initiatives.

My delegation is satisfied that the situation in the country has apparently stabilized and that there appears to be no permanent damage to the legitimate Government of President Kumba Yalá. The key challenge which must be squarely addressed is the need for the former military regime to withdraw from the process and subordinate itself to the constitutional authorities. This will be an important step towards the realization of democratic rule and the creation of the necessary institutions to support the restoration of lasting peace, stability and sustainable development in Guinea-Bissau.

The creation of these institutions will not happen in a vacuum, but depends on the establishment of practices of good governance, including the empowerment of individuals and communities. The challenge for the Government of Guinea-Bissau is to create a system of governance that promotes, supports and sustains human development; especially for the poorest of the poor. Successful States create a body of laws and practices around which a country's population can gravitate, secure in the knowledge that the Government and State apparatus exists for their benefit, that they are better off with a government than without.

The United Nations Development Programme has termed this approach sustainable human development. This means development that not only generates economic growth, but that also distributes its benefits equitably and empowers men and women rather than marginalizing them. In this regard, my delegation welcomes the commitment of the Guinea-Bissau Government to post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation, electing as its primary objectives good governance and the fight against poverty.

The successful outcome of the post-conflict transition in Guinea-Bissau will stand as a test of the international community's resolve to enable formerly war-torn countries to establish the institutions which will prevent a return to conflict. For its part, the Security Council must ensure that, at the very outset, or as soon as practicable, peace-building measures are included as an integral part of the planning of peace operations. This requires a partnership with the Secretariat in developing a doctrine of peace-building strategies and programmes in an integrated and comprehensive approach to conflict situations.

In the case of Guinea-Bissau, which is now ranked among the poorest countries in Africa, the international financial institutions will need to address themselves to mobilizing financial resources to facilitate the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development priorities identified by the Government.

My delegation is of the view that the challenges of the post-conflict situation in Guinea-Bissau require an integrated and consolidated form of support by all concerned agencies, including the United Nations system, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as well as bilateral donors. We hope that this occasion has served to sensitize these institutions to the need for lenient and constructive policies which will meet the pressing and urgent needs of the post-conflict society.

Again, as I stated earlier, recent events have emphasized that there should be no gap between peacekeeping and peace-building. We are pleased to learn from Mr. Madavo that the World Bank and the IMF are taking action to address the post-conflict peace-building priorities of Guinea-Bissau, including the urgent problem of Guinea-Bissau's debt burden. There is no room for delay; time is of the essence.

In this regard, my delegation fully endorses Secretary-General Kofi Annan's statement that the donor community, including the international financial institutions, must exercise greater flexibility and, to use the Secretary-General's words, "greater tolerance" (*supra.*), when addressing peace-related priorities, which require public sector expenditures and budget deficits. Old boilerplate prescriptions and conditionalities may not be appropriate in these circumstances and should not be applied across the board.

My delegation commends the work of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau and, in particular, the timeless efforts of Mr. Nana-Sinkam in carrying out post-conflict peace-building in Guinea-Bissau.

The President: I fully acknowledge your efforts with regard to today's agenda and thank you for your strong engagement with the plight of the people of Guinea-Bissau.

Mr. Krokhmal (Ukraine): My delegation would like to join previous speakers in commending the Netherlands presidency for its initiative to convene an

open briefing on the situation in Guinea-Bissau, which is in the process of post-conflict peace-building. We would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his important statement to open the discussion.

My delegation welcomes Mr. Imbali, Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, as he takes part in this meeting of the Council. We also believe that the participation of representatives of financial institutions and subregional organizations today will send a strong signal of international encouragement and support to the people of Guinea-Bissau in their peace-building and reconstruction efforts.

We agree that Guinea-Bissau is a good example of a case that should be considered by the international community in the context of the recent discussions on the peacekeeping and peace-building strategies of the United Nations. In this connection, we hope that today's discussion will make for a valuable contribution to the promotion of the effective coordination of the international assistance and support for the post-conflict reconstruction in the country.

In the light of the recent political developments in Guinea-Bissau, which threaten to undermine the progress achieved so far, it is particularly important now to uphold civilian rule and the rule of law, as well as to ensure the depoliticization of the army. We believe that the continued disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process, with the proper funding, would significantly advance the successful implementation of the peace process.

The pressing economic situation constitutes yet another challenge as the country emerges from the conflict. Significant financial and economic aid from the international community is indispensable in helping to ensure the socio-economic rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country and in promoting the prospects for sustainable peace and development. At the same time, it is equally important that the Government continue to do its utmost to build on the gains and to make progress towards these goals.

We are particularly pleased to note the efforts being made by the Government of Guinea-Bissau for the strengthening of democratic institutions and the promotion of macroeconomic stability. The unstable regional context remains a serious security challenge for the country at this particular phase of peace-building. We welcome the bilateral initiatives aimed at the stabilization of the common border region and building confidence between the neighbouring countries. My delegation would like to commend the important role that the regional organizations — the Economic Community of West African States and the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries — are playing in support of peace and democracy in Guinea-Bissau. We would also like to note the outstanding work of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS) and the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Nana-Sinkam, in facilitating the consolidation of peace and the promotion of the democratization process. My delegation welcomes the proposal by the Secretary-General to extend the mandate of UNOGBIS until the end of 2001.

In conclusion, I would like to express my delegation's support for the draft presidential statement that will be adopted shortly. We strongly believe that the consolidation of political and development efforts in support of post-conflict peace-building and reconstruction in Guinea-Bissau, within an integrated and coordinated approach among all the actors involved, will ensure success in achieving long-term peace and stability in the country.

The President: I thank the representative of Ukraine for that very focused and constructive statement.

Mr. Mohammad Kamal (Malaysia): First and foremost, my delegation would like to welcome you, Madam President, to New York and to say how pleased we are to see you preside over the Council's meeting today in such a charming manner. We commend you and your delegation for the convening of this important meeting on the situation in Guinea-Bissau. We also view this meeting as an extension of the very useful thematic debate in the Council that your delegation cleverly initiated on the item entitled "No exit without strategy". Hence, we find this meeting very relevant, appropriate and timely.

We also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his briefing and update on the situation in Guinea-Bissau.

We wish to warmly welcome Mr. Faustino Fudut Imbali, Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, to this meeting and to thank him most sincerely for his important statement. The Council's continued engagement in the situation in Guinea-Bissau is pertinent given the efforts of the Government of

Guinea-Bissau to put in place democratic reforms and to rebuild the country following years of civil strife.

My delegation notes that for quite some time now, particularly following the successful holding of both the legislative and presidential elections in Guinea-Bissau, the Council has viewed Guinea-Bissau as a test case, so to speak, of how a post-conflict situation could be handled, and handled successfully, by the parties concerned, with the support of the international community. However, the disturbing events of last week clearly underline that the Security Council must continue to monitor closely the fragile democracy that is still taking root in that impoverished West African nation.

It has been especially worrying that members of the former military junta have continued to resist taking concrete actions to honour previous commitments to withdraw from the political process and to accept the authority of the democratically elected institutions. Their continued interference and maintenance of a high public profile more than nine months after the inauguration of the new President is simply unacceptable.

The chaotic situation last week following General Mane's rebellion is regrettable, and the irresponsible act only served to plunge the democratic institutions, still in their infancy, into political turmoil. Although General Mane is still at large, we are nevertheless hopeful that the Government and the people of Guinea-Bissau can quickly put the episode behind them and focus fully on enhanced efforts for national reconciliation, the consolidation of peace and the rebuilding of the country.

Many had considered Mr. Yalá's victory a vote for change, one that would complete the process towards the return of civil rule in that country. If democratization is to be fully consolidated, all those concerned must work together to strengthen democratic values, protect the rule of law, depoliticize the army and safeguard human rights.

We cannot underestimate the continued importance of the role that the international community could play to support the Government of Guinea-Bissau in the consolidation of the progress achieved thus far, and in this regard we commend sincerely, as others have done, the key roles of both the Economic Community of West African States and the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries during the transitional process. In addition, the ability of this Organization to fulfil its critical facilitation role in Guinea-Bissau is also very dependent on the continued and additional support of the international community.

We note in particular that the Government's administration continues to be severely hampered by the lack of resources and expertise available, on top of the already poor infrastructure. In this regard, we call on the donor community, including the international financial institutions, to do its utmost for Guinea-Bissau. Endemic poverty remains the single most debilitating social and economic problem threatening the full evolution of democracy and the consolidation of constitutional order. The massive return of refugees and internally displaced persons into the country has also placed considerable demands on the country's social services. In this regard, the upcoming round table scheduled for February 2001 in Geneva will be an important development for Guinea-Bissau.

We firmly believe that the success of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process is particularly crucial to the continuing peace process and the well-being of the country. Likewise, the Government's priority of restructuring the armed forces as part of the democratization process must be supported. Any factors that might lead to instability and backsliding to the chaotic conditions of the past must be averted at all costs.

We wish to reiterate the continued relevance of the regional dimension to Guinea-Bissau's successful rehabilitation. Lasting security and stability in the subregion depend to a large extent on peaceful cooperation between neighbours. In this regard, Malaysia encourages and welcomes the continued close cooperation between Guinea-Bissau and Senegal, as well as other States members of the Economic Community of West African States in the subregion. Border tensions must be curbed and the parties should be encouraged to find means of de-escalating tensions and to discuss cooperative strategies to secure the common border.

In conclusion, Malaysia wishes to pay a tribute to Representative Nana-Sinkam, the staff of the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau and the whole United Nations country team for their tireless and commendable contributions to the peace-building efforts of the Government and people of Guinea-Bissau.

Finally, Malaysia fully supports the draft presidential statement on the situation in Guinea-Bissau that is before us.

The President: I thank the representative of Malaysia for his kind words and for reminding us of the debate two weeks ago on the theme of "no exit without strategy". Indeed, it is our view that all these issues are linked and connected and that, unless we in the international community make up strategies that are holistic, we will not succeed. I think that it is indeed important to realize these linkages every time we discuss any of these issues.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): Namibia is pleased to see you, Madam, presiding over this important discussion on the situation in Guinea-Bissau. We also welcome the participation this morning of the Secretary-General and thank him for addressing the political, military and humanitarian aspects of the situation prevailing in the country and the subregion in general.

The presence here of the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau speaks volumes. Among other things, it is an indication of the trust and belief of the Government and people of Guinea-Bissau in the United Nations. It also demonstrates the commitment of the Government to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and its rejection of chaos and anarchy.

Since the reinstallation of democracy in Guinea-Bissau, steady progress has been made in the strengthening of democratic institutions, the resettlement of displaced populations and the consolidation of sustainable peace and economic reconstruction. That process has been acknowledged by the Security Council and the rest of the international community. The contributions of the United Nations system, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the bilateral donors are highly appreciated. In this connection, we welcome the participation of the Vice-President of the World Bank in this meeting and thank him for his very important statement.

The role played by the Economic Community of West African States and the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries cannot be overemphasized. Further assistance in these areas is sought, without conditionalities attached that would undo the process of overcoming the negative consequences of the civil war and the culture of military intervention in politics.

Your personal participation in this meeting, Madam, adds an important gender dimension to this discussion and my delegation appreciates that highly. Equally important, however, you hail from a country which understands the value of development assistance. Your colleague, the Foreign Minister of your country, while addressing the Security Council recently, pointed out that development assistance is an important aspect of your foreign policy and my delegation fully agrees, for we can confirm that because we Namibians have benefited from assistance which the Government and people of the Netherlands gave us during the difficult years of our liberation struggle. We continue to receive that assistance to this day. Therefore, when we make the plea today, on behalf of the Government and people of Guinea-Bissau, for bilateral and multilateral assistance without conditionalities, we are requesting your Government and other donor countries to understand and act upon it. Your country's voice and that of other donor countries on this matter can make the difference.

The reappearance of General Mane and his military junta on the political landscape disrupted the political discourse in the country and the subregion at large. It is good news that the residents of Bissau who ran in all directions after renewed fighting have returned. It is high time for General Mane's followers to know that his leadership generates not hope, but doom, and that he will lead them not to peace and prosperity, but to chaos and perpetual destitution. All this can be prevented only if the international community continues and enhances its assistance to the Government and people of Guinea-Bissau.

What is also disquieting is the whereabouts of General Mane himself. Wherever he is and whatever he is planning to do, the loyal forces that nipped the rising tide of renewed instability in the bud must continue to turn the tide of history against him. He must be made to face the consequences of his miscalculations.

It is important to realize that the remedy for political instability is for the State to make a conscious and dedicated effort to provide for the economically vulnerable groups, including the provision of land and other support facilities to the internally displaced persons and returnees. The system must provide free expression of dissent; its suppression is a recipe for disaster. To accept and value diversity and harness its potential by unleashing peoples' creativity in the pursuit of the common good will help maintain

universal tranquillity in a climate of pressures. This has been proved in stable countries. It is our view that a strong civil society in Guinea-Bissau will indeed reinforce the foundation of democracy.

Finally, we call on the international community to help the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process and give every assistance to the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau and to the Government of Guinea-Bissau to enable them to carry out their mission successfully.

The President: I thank the representative of Namibia for his kind words addressed to me. I will pass them on to my colleague and friend, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. We have been working hard together over the past two years to try to make our policies in foreign affairs and development cooperation coherent and support each other, including in the positions we have been taking in this Council. So I am glad that the representative of Namibia made these kind comments about that.

The last speaker on my list who is also a member of the Security Council happens to be me in my national capacity. After that, there are four other speakers still on the list, but I really would like to say now that if there is anyone who wants to come back to any of the issues raised by others, I would welcome that. I would particularly like to invite Callisto Madavo of the World Bank and the representative of Guinea-Bissau, maybe at the end of our meeting, to say a few words in reaction to many of the things that have been said. I wanted to warn members about that, but before we move there I now want to make a little statement in my capacity as the Minister for Development Cooperation of the Netherlands.

A great deal has been said; let me just try to focus on four points that I wanted to make. The debate today has been about the wider issues, but the current situation in Guinea-Bissau is a very chilling illustration of the first point that I wanted to make, that is, the importance of being very careful not to divide conflicts up into different stages: pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict. That type of compartmentalization does not fit with reality. One of the first things I did when I became a minister was to attend a round table organized by the Brookings Institution at the request of the World Bank, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and some other entities within the United Nations system in early 1999. There, we concluded that

> "A response to the needs of post-conflict societies organized along two artificially compartmentalized lines, namely the emergency-humanitarian and the long-term developmental, does not do justice to the fluidity, uncertainty and complexity that characterize war-torn societies".

We have to keep that very much in mind. That kind of compartmentalization would force us, in the case of Guinea-Bissau, to answer hypothetical questions such as these. Was it in June 1998 that the conflict started? Was it in November 1998 that it ended, with the signing of the Abuja treaty? Should we consider the second round of elections the beginning of a post-conflict situation, or is it still too early to speak of a post-conflict situation? Last week, we suddenly saw those troubling events, and we all had a great deal of concern that this young democracy might suffer a serious relapse. We are happy to see that the situation, thank God, is calm, that the elected President's Government is back in charge and that General Mane and the military have had to accept the primacy of the civilian authorities. Rebuilding efforts can and must now continue, and we urge all to reconcile themselves in a forward-looking spirit.

It is exactly that fluid situation, illustrated by what we saw last week, that means we should not think in terms of pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict, but should have a more holistic view about what I like to call peace-building. Because that is what it is all about, before, during and after a conflict, no matter where you draw the lines. We have to work at peace-building, and one cannot do that during every stage.

What we need is a more integrated, more coherent and better coordinated approach in Guinea-Bissau, and also in other countries in that twilight zone between conflict and post-conflict peace-building. Peace-building must be part of an integrated approach that includes poverty reduction, the improvement of governance and policies, democratization and the development of an active civil society to counterbalance government.

Some would say that peace-building is a form of development cooperation and thus should not be on the Security Council's agenda. Well, as I am sure members know, we completely disagree with such a narrow interpretation of what we should be doing here in the

Security Council. For us, the Netherlands, one of the overarching objectives of our membership has been to promote a more integrated, a more coordinated, a more holistic approach, particularly regarding conflicts in Africa. I really hope that today's meeting has been another step in that direction. We really believe that it remains relevant for the Council, in the light of its primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, to discuss these issues of peace-building too, even if they can be called development cooperation. Consolidating an often fragile peace; security policy; and development cooperation: it all comes together, and we have to integrate all the various dimensions.

I was glad to hear how many members — Mali, Argentina and others — stressed that it is essential for the international community to get its act together. We have to make a better effort to attain that holistic, system-wide approach. Together, we can do so much more than any of us can do individually. The total could be so much more than the sum of its parts. All of us — all the various actors — should be much more synergetic. We have to avoid mission creep in the system; we have to avoid overlaps; we have to fill those gaps that we have been talking about; we have to rise above the institutional egos that we too often see in the international system.

Strong coordination among these actors in peace-building is essential: the United Nations on the political side; other United Nations agencies, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), together with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), on the development side; as well as bilateral donors. I was really glad to hear how many members — so many that I did not even keep a list — made the point that it is important to get all those actors to work together. In Guinea-Bissau, I think, it could have, and should have, led to a faster response better tailored to the demands of the situation — if we had got our act together earlier on.

The second point I want to make is that, just as there is no clear line between conflict and post-conflict, there is no very clear distinction between humanitarian and regular aid. We have to fill the gap. I am very concerned about how international interest often fades away once a conflict disappears from the television screens. If it is not on CNN, we forget about it, and we donors stop our financing. Humanitarian aid dries up, and we depart the country and leave the country to its fate. There you have the big black hole that many countries face post-conflict. Donors then adopt a wait-and-see attitude once the most urgent phase of the conflict is over. In Guinea-Bissau we saw that donor funding dropped very sharply, and it is very important to realize that that kind of declining donor funding in fact destabilizes countries, and can actually push countries back into conflict. We have to act a little more responsibly as donors and as the international community.

Humanitarian aid should be complemented early on by peace-building and rehabilitation activities. At the post-conflict stage, of course, humanitarian aid has to be phased out, but not cold turkey. There too, there must be no exit without strategy, a strategy aiming at more sustainable forms of development. I really want to repeat this plea: countries emerging from conflict should not be left alone, because that truly creates the perfect breeding ground for a new escalation of conflict.

The good news is that we are talking about this, and recognizing and acknowledging that there is a gap problem between humanitarian and structural aid. The World Bank-UNHCR initiative by the Brookings Institution attests to that; we acknowledged, or at least paid lip-service to the fact, that relief, return, reintegration, reconciliation, recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction, while they may be separate concepts, are all linked in the real world. They are one thing. I am very glad that we have acknowledged this, but we have to do a better job of translating it into our actions as an international community.

In that context, I am, again, really pleased that Callisto Madavo was here. I am also really pleased to have heard so many members — including Jamaica, Ukraine, Malaysia and Namibia — welcome the World Bank's presence here. I think it was very important to have it represented, because I think we all welcome the increased involvement of the international financial institutions in peace-building and in post-conflict activities. The representative of the European Union has already stated — and how can I but agree — that, in post-conflict situations the international financial institutions have to be politically sensitive in checking their conditionalities, if this is relevant in a given post-conflict situation. I would add that they should go the extra mile to foster inclusion in the way they work and to foster institutional capacity-building.

In fact, if I may, I would commend the World Bank, for a change, for having done that in the case of Guinea-Bissau. Because of jet-lag, I woke up at 4 a.m., and I said to myself, "Well, why not read the poverty reduction strategy paper, the IMF paper and so forth?" So I read all those documents from 19th Street NW, Washington. And, for a change, they did a very good job. I think I would want to make the point that, in checking on political sensitivity and on the relevance of conditionalities in the context of post-conflict situations, they did a very good job, so let us say so.

My third point is that we should have no illusions about our role as outsiders. I want to underline that also to the delegation of Guinea-Bissau. They bear the brunt of the work. Of course, in every society there is a fight for the biggest piece of the pie. We have that in our countries, too. The question is where that fight takes place, the theatre where the parties fight. Is it the parliament building or a battlefield? That is the issue.

There is a particular problem in poor countries, in that the pie is not that big. What is worse is that in many poor countries the pie is not growing. Why is it so easy where I come from for us to continue to be democratic? It is easy enough in the Netherlands: the pie is growing fast. It is much easier to have inclusive development if the pie grows. So if we want to be serious about conflict resolution, having the pie grow is very important. Again, that is where development cooperation kicks in, and why we development Ministers should be in this Chamber once in a while.

But, again, it is up those in Guinea-Bissau and the countries concerned themselves. What I am always so energized about is how often, even during conflict, one sees a peace process start at the grass-roots level in many countries before a formal settlement is reached. One sees religious and women's groups, civil society and people who are simply weary of the fighting and needless bloodshed. They can play a very crucial role in peace-building, pursuing peace from the grassroots level, building from the bottom up. It is very important for us to recognize that popular involvement and support it in order to spur that momentum and keep it going.

Such an inclusive model cannot be imposed from the outside. A peaceful solution to a conflict is possible only if the internal parties have the will to achieve stability. We outsiders, including the United Nations and regional organizations, can intervene and contribute successfully only if that will exists in countries. I am really pleased with the recent developments in Guinea-Bissau that have proved that to be true. We saw a legitimate transfer of power after last year's elections. Although considerable progress has been made since democracy was restored, the domestic political process still faces a number of serious military, economic and social bottlenecks.

I think that your country, Mr. Vice-Prime Minister, deserves a lot of support. We need to commend you, as Mr. Madavo did, for the way in which, for instance, you have tried to make policy-making inclusive and have invited civil society to participate in the process set out in the poverty reduction strategy paper, the process that led to your poverty reduction strategy.

The last point I want to make is a very obvious one that has been made by many others, including Malaysia, Namibia, Bangladesh, Canada and the World Bank. I refer to the huge importance of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), even if in Guinea-Bissau it is called DRR. I am convinced that if one looks at a past success story in Africa — Mozambique, say — to see what made it such a success, one discovers that the answer is that timely, adequate and generous financing was on the table for DDR. That was extremely important to make peace stick in that case. We should learn that lesson.

I have been pleased to follow Security Council debates, including that of 23 March 2000. I would like to quote from the presidential statement made following that debate:

> "adequate and timely funding for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is critical to the successful implementation of a peace process". (*S/PRST/2000/10*)

I just want to say here that I would like to honour the Netherlands membership of the Council by walking the walk, putting my money where my mouth is, and pledging as the Netherlands Minister for Development Cooperation that, as far as I am concerned, post-conflict peace-building will never be allowed to fail in Africa because of lack of financial resources for DDR — be it in Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone or Burundi. I want to pledge here that, for our part, we will kick in the money needed for DDR, for I believe that it is the best investment in peace. I know that it can be a risky investment. There is no guarantee of

success, as money alone does not do the trick. But I sometimes feel, as the Development Minister, that it is much more risky not to take any risks.

As I did, for instance, for Ethiopia and Eritrea, I would like to ask the multilateral organizations — the World Bank and UNDP— to be there in time to develop DDR programmes. Nothing can be done with my pledge unless there is an account number, unless the multilateral organizations do their homework and unless these programmes are in place in time before the momentum wanes. Of course, in addition there is also the issue of local ownership; for otherwise initiatives will be doomed to fail anyway. And those who bear public responsibility — the Governments — will have to re-establish their credibility; and the balance between government and the military has to be restored.

I very much welcome the steps that have been taken to achieve rapid DDR in Guinea-Bissau. Activities really got started just two months ago, but a lot of progress has been made. I call on all parties in Guinea-Bissau to keep up the momentum, and I join everyone here who has said today that there is some room to improve burden-sharing in the financing of DDR. Let me underline that.

Fighting poverty and increasing participation are crucial to the sustainable building of peace. This is all about people. We should all join forces to offer a perspective to the young women and men of Africa, making sure that young men do not perceive taking up arms as their only possible future. The less people have to lose, the greater the risk of conflict. Effective development cooperation therefore helps to ensure that people have the hope that their children will have a better future than they have; that people, in effect, have something to hold on to that they do not want to lose. I think that is what we are here together for, what we must try to achieve in the future.

I now change hats again to resume my functions as President of the Council, pausing to apologize to the interpreters.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Gambia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Jagne (Gambia): We are honoured to see you presiding over this open briefing on the situation in Guinea-Bissau, Madam President. Your presence is clear testimony to the importance that your great country attaches to the crucial issue of post-conflict peace-building and, by extension, to development cooperation generally. The enthusiasm, zeal and energy with which you have presided over this meeting are indeed remarkable.

Let me also take this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador van Walsum on his presidency this month. It has been an eventful and successful month by all accounts. Through you, Madam President, we owe the Netherlands a debt of gratitude for arranging this meeting.

I remember vividly Ambassador van Walsum's early days in the Security Council, when he demonstrated a keen interest in post-conflict peace-building and even suggested Guinea-Bissau as a possible example. Those efforts will not be in vain. It is our fervent hope, therefore, that the people of Guinea-Bissau will reap the benefits at the end of the day. As he will be leaving us soon, allow me to wish him success in his future endeavours.

In the same vein, I would like to pay tribute to his predecessor, our brother and colleague Ambassador Andjaba, for a job well done during Namibia's presidency last month. We recall encouraging Ambassador Andjaba, when we were leaving the Council, to keep the flag flying. Well, he has not only kept it flying, but kept it flying even higher. I would like to request the Namibian delegation to convey to Ambassador Andjaba the fact that we are very proud of him.

Allow me to join previous speakers in welcoming the high-ranking delegation from Guinea-Bissau, led by the Vice-Prime Minister. After his eloquent presentation this morning, it will not be necessary to go into great detail. But as neighbours of Guinea-Bissau, we in the Gambia cannot afford to be indifferent to the plight of our brothers and sisters in that country. In fact, this body will recall the preponderant role played by President Jammeh in the quest for a lasting solution.

Furthermore, the situation has a regional dimension that cannot be ignored. In other words, the potential for serious ramifications throughout our West African subregion still exists. It was partly for this reason that the Group of Friends of Guinea-Bissau was formed to contribute to the collective endeavour to mobilize resources for the reconstruction efforts in Guinea-Bissau. This was done bearing in mind the

vicissitudes of the transition process. More often than not, the situation is precarious — thus the need for sustained external assistance to consolidate the modest gains made by the people and their leaders.

It is necessary in this connection to recall the successful emergency Round Table Conference of donors for Guinea-Bissau that was held in Geneva last year. It was successful in terms of the pledges made, but, as we all know, donors have yet to make good on their promises. I need hardly emphasize that democracy and the rule of law cannot flourish in conditions of active poverty. The people of Guinea-Bissau have come a long way, resilient and resolute as ever to move ahead, despite all the odds.

We certainly do not underestimate the problems involved and the many challenges that lie ahead, but we are confident that with a little help from outside, these challenges are not insurmountable. At our last meeting of the Group of Friends, the Secretary-General's Representative in Guinea-Bissau — who, by the way, is doing a superb job, along with his staff, in the United Nations Peace-building Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS) — did not mince his words when he discussed the socio-economic situation of the country. He described it as very, very difficult. Yet he described the overall political situation, in particular parliamentary activity, as satisfactory.

Furthermore — and this is very important — we were informed that the human rights situation has improved a great deal. As was mentioned by many speakers during the debate on exit strategies, there is a need to avoid a gap in the transition phase from conflict resolution to peace-building. That is why we have put a great deal of emphasis on timely assistance. Moreover, financial institutions should show some degree of flexibility when dealing with countries in transition, notably the Bretton Woods institutions.

Let me at this juncture also commend the World Bank in particular for the assistance provided to the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process. Programmes related to this process should be vigorously pursued. We are encouraged by the presence of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and, indeed, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) at this briefing. The remarks made by Mr. Madavo, Vice-President of the World Bank, were most reassuring.

In his report of 29 September 2000, the Secretary-General stated:

"Guinea-Bissau has continued to make important progress towards consolidating its democratization process. However, the overall situation in the country remains worrying. The ever-present threat of military intervention, the precarious border situation and the country's chronic poverty make the road ahead difficult. The challenges are formidable, and the new civilian Government has neither the means nor the capacity to address them on its own." *(S/2000/920, para. 20)*

Allow me to thank the Secretary-General for his opening remarks this morning, which set the tone for our debate. There could not have been a better summary. While it is true that since the report was issued, a number of countries have contributed generously towards the UNOGBIS trust fund, it is also true that a lot more remains to be done.

In this connection, it is gratifying to note that another Round Table Conference is scheduled for February next year. We all look forward to it. But at the same time, it should be borne in mind that it is one thing to convene a Round Table Conference of donors and make pledges, and quite another to disburse the funds, as recent experience has shown. We are optimistic, though, that we will get it right this time, so that together, through an integrated and consolidated approach, we can succeed in our partnership with the Government and people of Guinea-Bissau to make their country a shining example of post-conflict peace-building. The Government and people of the Gambia will always be available in our concerted efforts to make this dream come true.

The President: In a debate in which we have discussed the gap between humanitarian and structural aid, I am grateful to the representative of the Gambia for mentioning the gap between pledges and disbursements. His point is well taken.

The next speaker is the representative of Senegal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ka (Senegal) (*spoke in French*): Madam, the fact that you are presiding over this meeting, devoted to the consideration of the situation in Guinea-Bissau from the perspective of post-conflict peace-building, bears eloquent witness to your own personal

commitment, and to that of your country, to the cause of peace and stability in Africa. May I therefore, in welcoming you to New York, extend my delegation's warmest congratulations to you on this positive and very timely initiative taken by the Dutch presidency of the Security Council. I wish also to welcome among us the Vice-Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Faustino Imbali.

The Security Council is today holding an important debate on the situation in Guinea-Bissau, at a time when, more than ever, that country, which is linked to Senegal by history and geography, needs the aid and support of the international community.

This initiative could not have been more welcome, as it comes at a time of doubt and fragility, following the recent attempt by the former head of the junta to destabilize the democratically elected Government of President Kumba Yalá. This seditious movement, which is in the process of being quashed, reflects the full scope of the potential danger that the enemies of peace, national reconciliation and even of democracy pose to the process of rebuilding the country and to social reintegration programmes, which were designed, with the assistance of the United Nations, to ease the suffering of thousands of refugees and displaced persons.

Since his inauguration to the highest office in the land in January 2000, President Kumba Yalá has been carrying out commendable actions to strengthen the spirit of reconciliation among the population to consolidate democracy, the rule of law, the sound management of public affairs and respect for human rights. In this context, the new Government set as priority objectives the depoliticization of the army and the reduction of its ranks to a level compatible with the country's limited resources in order to devote more financing to the revitalization of the functioning of public institutions, relaunching the economy and for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme.

President Kumba Yalá has also been personally committed to improving, through confidence-building, measures the country's relationship with neighbouring countries, particularly Senegal. He has also endeavoured to build and strengthen cooperation between Guinea-Bissau and the international community.

It must be recognized that in carrying out the objectives and programmes defined so far, the United Nations has played a primary role under the enlightened leadership of the Secretary-General, to whom I wish to pay tribute for the preventive diplomacy measures that he has always recommended to the authorities of Guinea-Bissau. Furthermore, the Secretary-General understood very early on that all acute crises or prolonged political instability in that country could have grave repercussions on the security of the countries of the entire subregion.

The case of Guinea-Bissau allows us to affirm that the United Nations, with the international community's cooperation and with the will of the political actors, can make a significant contribution to the efforts made by all countries, following the example of Guinea-Bissau, to move from a situation of war to the dynamics of peace in order to gradually restore constitutional order and resolutely embark on the path of rebuilding a nation reconciled with itself.

In spite of the recent regrettable and condemnable events, my country believes that the international community, beginning with the United Nations, must continue to support peace and reconstruction efforts in Guinea-Bissau. It is therefore our duty to support the efforts of the democratically elected Government of President Kumba Yalá to design and implement the many programmes that he has devised to strengthen peace, promote national reconciliation and speed up the country's economic and social recovery.

It is because Senegal shares a common destiny with Guinea-Bissau that President Abdoulaye Wade, fortified by this conviction, has undertaken important political action to strengthen the special relationship between the two countries. In our view, the personal friendship that binds President Wade and President Kumba Yalá augurs well for the advent of an era of peace and stability between the two neighbouring countries and between those countries and the entire subregion.

The fact remains that stabilizing the situation in Guinea-Bissau depends on the consistency and the amount of assistance provided by the international community, a prerequisite for the economic and social rebirth of that fraternal country. Certainly the Security Council meeting today can be seen by the people of Guinea-Bissau as a source of regained hope of an entire people in an international community rallying together

again to help it. The international community of donors, in order to respond to the appeal made by the Secretary-General this morning, must support the programmes developed by the Government of President Kumba Yalá, programmes which already benefit from United Nations support.

In conclusion, my delegation fully supports the proposal to convene another round table of donor countries, which would, in the context of a coordinated and integrated approach, make it possible to mobilize additional resources for the reconstruction of Guinea-Bissau.

The President: That was a very heart-warming, constructive statement.

The next speaker is the representative of Guinea. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Fall (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): My delegation is pleased that this meeting, devoted to the situation in Guinea-Bissau, is being held under your dynamic leadership, Madam President. We appreciate your vision of the problems that concern us now, particularly problems of cooperation and development assistance. My delegation also wishes to congratulate your country's delegation on having taken the initiative to hold this meeting.

I should also like to welcome the presence of the important delegation of Guinea-Bissau, led by the Vice-Prime Minister.

Members will recall the tireless efforts made during the first crisis that occurred in Guinea-Bissau by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries to put an end to the civil war and to restore normal constitutional life in that country. These efforts, which were supported by the rest of the international community, have allowed the restoration of peace and the holding of democratic elections in the country in November 1999 and January 2000. However, we must stress that Guinea-Bissau has been totally exhausted by this ordeal, with a chaotic economic situation, weakened institutions and thousands of refugees outside the country.

It is precisely at a time when the international community has been trying to find solutions to consolidate the fragile peace obtained and to ease the suffering of the fraternal people of Guinea-Bissau that new events have occurred, thus aggravating the very disquieting situation of the country. The former junta's refusal to accept the newly established institutions is clear for all to see. Just a few days ago these people who sparked the initial events tried once again to call into question the already precarious political equilibrium in the country. For the Government of the Republic of Guinea, the situation that Guinea-Bissau is experiencing must be taken into account by the Security Council in its concern to ensure stability in West Africa, an area already severely affected by many internal conflicts.

This is also, and above all, an opportunity to implement the relevant recommendations of the Brahimi report, a report which I welcome and which, since its approval, has already been the subject of in-depth study by the Security Council for its effective implementation. The latest events in Guinea-Bissau should be understood as an indication of the need to fully take into account all stages of conflict settlement, particularly disarmament, demobilization and reintegration and the necessary parallel measures. My delegation is pleased that this view is shared by several other delegations.

Consequently, all appropriate measures should be considered by the Council to restore and consolidate peace and security in Guinea-Bissau, particularly neutralizing the troublemakers and adopting effective parallel measures to promote national reconciliation, pursue political dialogue and relaunch the economy, which has already been hit hard by this series of unfortunate events. The achievement of all of these objectives will require the effective engagement of the international community, in particular the international economic and financial institutions. In this context, I should like to welcome the presence of the representative of the World Bank.

The Republic of Guinea, which is linked by history and geography with Guinea-Bissau, will provide its full support for the achievement of the objectives of national reconciliation in that country.

The President: I thank the representative of Guinea for his short, focused statement, again reminding us of the importance of implementing the Brahimi report.

The next speaker is the Executive Secretary of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking countries, Mrs. Dulce Maria Pereira, to whom the Council has

extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite her to take a seat at the Council table and to make her statement.

Mrs. Pereira: I have the honour to thank you, Madam President, on behalf of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP), for giving me the opportunity to make this statement before the Security Council on an item related to one of the Community's members, Guinea-Bissau — an item, which, as a consequence, is of close interest to Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Portugal and Sao Tome and Principe. East Timor — an observer in the CPLP until it gains statehood and thus becomes a full member of the Community — is also closely interested in the issue.

I wish to begin by congratulating the Dutch presidency on having organized this meeting dedicated to Guinea-Bissau. We also thank the Secretary-General for his presence and briefing.

During this month, the importance of a smooth transition in a continued United Nations presence in conflict areas was highlighted by the Security Council through the adoption of resolution 1327 (2000), on the results of the Council's working group on the Brahimi report, and through the open debate on the item "No exit without strategy". The close relationship between peace-building activities and the objectives envisaged for the maintenance of international security is particularly evident in Guinea-Bissau, a country that is striving to establish the foundations of a durable peace after a devastating conflict.

Regrettably, during recent days, Guinea-Bissau experienced signs of serious political and military instability. We hope those events will not destabilize the efforts — although such efforts fall short of the possibilities announced by the international community — being undertaken to implement a definitive peace and create a truly democratic State in that country.

I should now like to switch to Portuguese — the language of the Community that I am here to represent.

(*spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation*)

The Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries expressed itself in unequivocal terms in opposing the breach of constitutional normalcy in Guinea-Bissau. The Permanent Coordination Committee of the CPLP appealed for dialogue; urged those responsible for the current situation to observe the rule of law and the Constitution in accordance with the commitments undertaken and reiterated by all regarding respect for democratic values; and called for the consolidation of the conditions necessary for the country's reconstruction and the maintenance of peace.

It is our hope that the instability of recent days can provide lessons for the future and that the Government of Guinea-Bissau will have its legitimacy and capacity to govern strengthened. We hope to see a new impetus provided to the promotion of national cohesion, with the cooperation of opposition political parties in a clear demonstration of the spirit of reconciliation, in order to consolidate the gains of democracy and to reinforce the chances of achieving the long-awaited economic development of the country.

In this regard, it is essential for the international community to send a clear message of support to the democratic authorities of Guinea-Bissau, expressing, in words as well as in actions, the interest with which it continues to follow the process of the country's reconstruction in this post-conflict phase. We express our satisfaction with the text of the presidential statement to be formally adopted in this meeting. While sending to Guinea-Bissau a message of support for national cohesion and for reinforcement of the democratization of the regime, the international community should make available the means that will help the Government to face the current economic situation.

Reversing this unfavourable situation is mainly the responsibility of the authorities and the people of Guinea-Bissau. It is imperative that they exercise this responsibility with realism and a sense of statehood. The international community, however, should not abandon Guinea-Bissau to its own fate; rather, at this key juncture, it must help to coordinate support measures that can allow Guinea-Bissau to regain the stability that it needs to radically change the current situation. It will therefore be essential to support the Government in responding to the most immediate and basic needs of the local population, thus giving the benefit of the doubt to a country that is endeavouring to succeed in the difficult task of democratizing its political structures and reconstructing its social and economic fabric.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the people of Guinea-Bissau, the country's economic situation has reached a breaking point. The obstacles faced in Guinea-Bissau's economic development and the high level of dependence on donors and programmes developed on the basis of analyses and points of view from outside the country have resulted in the country's inability to benefit from the skills of the majority of citizens who are able to contribute to the country's administration.

It is necessary to bear in mind the fact that we are speaking about a Member State in which water and electricity supply systems are almost non-existent, fuel is scarce and the levels of unemployment, especially among young people, are dramatic. The illicit traffic in small arms is also undermining the consolidation of peace in Guinea-Bissau. Poverty statistics are alarming, and the seriousness of the spread of AIDS can be measured by experts' statements to the effect that Guinea-Bissau runs the risk, in the short term, of becoming a nation of children. This situation is aggravated by the lack of financial resources, which means that the Government must devote almost all its budget to the financing of civil administration and the armed forces.

Reference to the complex subregional political context, with its direct impact upon the domestic stability of Guinea-Bissau, is also necessary. The members of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries hope that the international community and the United Nations will support the efforts aimed at the stabilization of the region and, in particular, at encouraging confidence-building measures to increase security along the border between Guinea-Bissau and Senegal.

Despite a sombre assessment of the economic field, the bottom line on the transition process in Guinea-Bissau is undoubtedly positive. Contrary to many assumptions, Guinea-Bissau was able to institute a democratic regime in which the main political bodies are headed by officials elected by direct and universal suffrage, in elections supervised by the United Nations.

The CPLP deems it fundamental that the international community assist Guinea-Bissau, inter alia through the speedy release of funds pledged in the May 1999 donors round table. Need I recall that almost none of the financial commitments undertaken during the 1998 crisis were fulfilled. In the same vein, the involvement of important development partners, such as the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, is also important. It would entail the much needed financing for Guinea-Bissau's demobilization and economic reconstruction programmes, as well as further consideration of the country's eligibility to participate in debt relief initiatives in the context of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt Initiative.

Recognizing the presence here of representatives of Bretton Woods institutions, the members of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries suggest that Guinea-Bissau be granted waivers for the implementation of development programmes needed by the country. Parameters and conditions for the implementation of a programme's objectives should not serve as obstacles to development. They should instead be flexible, so as to allow these countries to absorb the international aid in a satisfactory manner. The CPLP members strongly support the idea that the international community extend to the people of Guinea-Bissau this vote of confidence in their capacity for reconstruction and reconciliation.

We would also like to reaffirm our conviction that Guinea-Bissau's stability is directly linked both to the reactivation of its economy and, above all, to the demobilization of former combatants. In regard to the latter, the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries insists that it is imperative to provide for demobilization with dignity. Demobilization should lead to reintegration. It will be successful only if for those leaving the armed forces an alternative source of income and occupation, a daily life with dignity and a less sombre future are assured. It should be noted that under the present circumstances the local system does not provide for the payment of pensions for demobilized individuals. Without an incentive for former combatants to set down their arms, without offering alternative employment, a non-traumatic demobilization will continue to elude us. We underline Guinea-Bissau's interest in reintegration initiatives that combine disarmament projects with income-generation programmes.

For its part, the CPLP continues to support the reconciliation and development process in Guinea-Bissau, both in the political and diplomatic field and in the area of cooperation for development. Member States of the CPLP are important partners in cooperation with Guinea-Bissau, particularly with

regard to education, support for entrepreneurial activities, institution-building and measures related to external debt. In the electoral sector, members of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries have contributed to human resources capacity-building, as well as with observers and material for the process of voter registration in 1999 and for the legislative and presidential elections of 1999 and 2000.

Lastly, in the political and diplomatic field, reference should be made to the important role played by the contact group of the CPLP in the negotiations that led to the ceasefire and to the stabilization of the situation in Guinea-Bissau last year, at a juncture when peace was threatened and when the people of Guinea-Bissau needed immediate assistance. In this sense, the fundamental role of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries in the process of restoring peace and security throughout Guinea-Bissau was recognized by Security Council resolution 1216 (1998). It is only natural that, having helped to establish the foundations for peace and stability in the region, the CPLP is keenly interested in closely following and contributing to each subsequent step in the process of the normalization of life in Guinea-Bissau and its involvement in the global development process.

The members of the CPLP hope that this meeting will help renew the commitments of the international community to the people of Guinea-Bissau, and convey a message of perseverance to them. As recent events in Guinea-Bissau have proved, the United Nations work, though successful thus far, is far from over. It needs ongoing encouragement to achieve the goals set by the Council in its recent decisions regarding post-conflict peace-building. This is the time for bilateral donors and international financial institutions to show that their determination to consolidate peace in Guinea-Bissau is lasting beyond the peak of the crisis and is continuing throughout the current period. At this crucial juncture, rehabilitating the country's economy means, simultaneously, preventing the resurgence of destabilizing factors until a lasting peace can take root.

It is precisely in this immediate post-conflict period that stability is threatened, including by the collapse of the confidence of the people. When political gains — mainly the establishment of a democratic order — are not followed by better opportunities and better economic prospects, it is difficult to overcome basic difficulties. Therefore, we must avoid distancing ourselves or resorting to solutions that can only increase the country's debt.

The consolidation of peace will be assured only through investment in the people's capacity and through the support of the Government and local leadership for the implementation of poverty-eradication programmes, managed by a transparent result-monitoring system.

We all know that conflict situations are in themselves threats to the social, cultural and economic rights of the individual. Thus any way of preventing the resurgence of conflict will be a victory for the people of Guinea-Bissau, and the international community as a whole. The case of Guinea-Bissau gives the Council an opportunity to put into practice the principles expressed in resolutions on post-conflict peace-building.

The President: We are grateful for that very comprehensive statement.

Speakers have been thanking me for putting this item on the agenda. I must say that I have to share all these thanks with Jamaica and Bangladesh, of course.

One of the many things that you called for, Mrs. Pereira, was that the international financial institutions show determination. I would like to hear to what extent the World Bank is ready to face that challenge and whatever other comments you, Mr. Madavo, would like to make in response to what you have heard today. I give you the floor.

Mr. Madavo: In keeping with the manners expected of a guest, I shall be very brief, and limiting myself to making three small points — or three footnotes.

First, to go back to my initial statement, we are very grateful to have been invited and to be part of this international effort, as I characterized it, to take risks for peace-building in Guinea-Bissau. I am particularly interested in this as Vice-President for Africa, because 20 per cent to 25 per cent of Africa's people live in countries in conflict or are impacted by conflict, and in that kind of situation development and economic progress are not possible. So this issue of resolving conflict is absolutely central to the development agenda in Africa today.

My second footnote has to do with how gratified I am by the call from many of you for a holistic and

integrated approach to conflict resolution, supported by cohesive coordination and partnership, and with the statement that we should go beyond simply talking about these issues and act on them, moving from talk to action. I also will bring back with me to Washington the messages sent by you on the importance of political sensitivity on the part of the Bretton Woods institutions, on the importance of realism in the way in which we structure programmes and on the importance of flexibility in the way in which we approach some of these issues. All of this must be done without lowering our sights in terms of the key objectives of encouraging growth focused on poverty reduction in these countries. In many ways we have to be open to a process of learning by doing. These are not easy issues; they are complex. We need to monitor the experience and to learn from that experience, to fit it into the design of future programmes.

My third footnote is that I hear very clearly the message about the importance of focusing on resource mobilization to support peace-building, reconciliation and development. We in the Bank, in particular, are expected to play a role in this question of resource mobilization. But I think there was also a subtext to the comments, which was that it is not enough to have donor conferences in which we make pledges. If these pledges do not translate into commitments and if these commitments do not translate into supporting real implementation on the ground of programmes that produce results, then we are just conferencing and patting ourselves on the back, without having the kind of impact that we are looking for. So I hope that, as we prepare for the round table in February, we shall look a little bit more deeply at what happened. How come the pledges did not translate into commitments? How come the commitments did not translate into support of programmes on the ground that are producing results? What did we learn? What are the constraints? And how shall we fix this in going forward? I very much look forward to the World Bank's supporting — the United Nations Development Programme will be chairing — the round table, working collaboratively and making a contribution to the extended weekend.

This has been a wonderful experience for me. I will certainly go back and reflect this to my colleagues and to my senior management, including Mr. Wolfensohn.

The President: Thank you very much, Mr. Madavo, for coming. It was at fairly short notice that you were prepared to come. In a few weeks' time my country will no longer be sitting at this table. This has been a little bit of a precedent, and I hope that others in the future will also think "why not ask these people to jump on a shuttle and come and join us in the debate whenever we think it is relevant?" I am sure that you and your colleagues would be prepared to do so. I hope that this is a first, but not a last. I think it did contribute to the quality of our debates to have you here. Thank you very much for coming.

Finally, I give the floor to you, Mr. Vice-Prime Minister.

Mr. Imbali (Guinea-Bissau) (*spoke in French*): On behalf of my delegations, I would like to thank the Security Council and, in particular, the Netherlands presidency, for everything that has been done to make this meeting a success. I would like to thank all the speakers for their concurrence with the need to help Guinea-Bissau in its post-conflict period.

I would like to point out, echoing what the Tunisian delegation said, the urgency of providing aid. We should not wait for the round table to provide assistance. Concerning the statement just made by the representative of the World Bank, I would like to say that it is very important for us to see that there is flexibility and recognition of the urgency of assisting Guinea-Bissau.

The Council might have observed that our delegation did not speak at length about the Representative of the United Nations in Guinea-Bissau. The reason is simply that we consider Mr. Nana-Sinkam a brother. We have adopted him and consider him to be of Guinea-Bissau, so I wonder how the Council is going to manage, because we want to keep him. Mr. Nana-Sinkam has played a very important role, and we hope he will continue to play this role in Guinea-Bissau.

I would like to say that we are all concerned about Ansumane Mane at this time. I guarantee that Ansumane Mane will be captured. I guarantee that, with the cooperation of the Guinea-Bissau population, and since he has no external support, he will be captured and brought to justice, as was done in the case of Nino Vieira. If the operation has perhaps been lengthy, it is because of the concern of the authorities of Guinea-Bissau that he be captured alive, and these types of operations are always very delicate. This is one reason why, to date, Ansumane Mane has not been

captured, but I can guarantee that he is still in Guinea-Bissau territory.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Netherlands for everything it has done for Guinea-Bissau. My delegation is here in this Chamber today thanks to the material assistance of the Netherlands. On behalf of my delegation, I would like to thank you, Madam President.

The President: Thank you very much for your very kind words. Again, I hope that the atmosphere that we have had here today will prevail during the round table meeting. This has to be translated into pledges, and pledges have to be translated into disbursement.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded its business for this meeting.

The Security Council will reconvene immediately to continue its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.